5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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423 one party fails to make the required response. It creates a wrong impression to
593 speak of land being 'vested' in a man if all he has (independently of some
woman) is a cleared patch of ground on which nothing grows; nor is the woman
[578] in a better position as she cannot (independently) bring any crop to maturity as
she needs the man's garden magic. As we shall see below, 'rights' in all Orokaiva
land transactions are limited in some way similar to this.

3. *Land Transactions between Men and Spirits*

795 A second basic transaction mediated by the land is that between the soul of a
423 recently deceased person and a new-born infant. The Orokaiva believe in
887 transmigration of souls. But this transmigration occurs through the mediation of
241 the piece of land where the spirit of the dead person has taken up special
residence. This is usually the garden he or she was cultivating at the time of
death. It is a fact of Orokaiva life that old people do not stop gardening as long
as they have any strength left in their bodies. Waddell's study of time allocation
in Sivepe showed that after the age of fifty-five, time spent on productive
subsistence activity, especially in the garden, declined only slightly, whereas
non-productive activity (e.g. social obligations, dealings with external agencies)
declined very sharply (1968: 104). Old people devote their reduced energies
almost exclusively to their gardens, grow progressively closer to their gardens
and away from the social network, until finally, after death, their spirit becomes
still more closely attached to the land. Their souls re-enter association with the
village through transmigration.

775 Crops from the garden cultivated by the deceased may not be eaten by any
768 member of the deceased's lineage. They are harvested by the heir and given
away by him to persons outside the lineage. No *here* are taken from these crops.
241 After a suitable period of fallow, the garden is replanted, but even then the land
is not thought to be free of the deceased's spirit. Very often the son or brother
of the deceased plants the garden and uses the produce to give a feast. It is
thought that the spirit presents no danger to food grown in that plot afterwards.

775 Transmigration is affected by a ritual performed shortly after the birth of an
851 infant. The parents take the child to the land where the spirit of the deceased is
774 believed to reside. They seek the spirit by placing leaves of a fragrant plant called
mo in a creek which runs through the land. When the spirit is thought to have
entered the leaves, the parents address it thus: 'You are dead now. We shall look
after the land and we shall look after the baby so it will become big and strong.
Then this child will look after the land.' The wife, in preparation for this rite,
has brought the baby to the garden in a string bag, and has also brought a stick.
When she arrives in the garden, she places the stick in the ground and hangs the
baby in its string bag from the stick. After the ritual by the water, she drops
some of the leaves by the stick, then takes the baby, the bag and the rest of the
leaves and returns home with her husband. The custom is for the husband to say
at night: 'I hear the baby crying.' He is expected to go back to the garden and
talk to the baby that is believed to be in the stick, telling it that the parents will
now look after it and there is no need to cry. He should then take the stick, with
the 'baby' inside it, to his home.

[753] The significance of this ritual became a little clearer to me through the case of

of Orewo lineage of the Kurou clan of Yega, who had been educated to Standard IV at Gona Mission School and had spent the year before the war working at Bunting's store at Cape Killerton. Just prior to the war he joined the Papuan Infantry Battalion and became a corporal. During the war an Australian soldier with whom he was friendly convinced him of the possibility of raising money from short-term crops. The Administration had introduced copra-making much earlier, but prices were low and there was little enthusiasm for the crop.

Even before the formation of the G.P.T., Samuel had convinced most of the Yega of the desirability of co-operative farming. Subscriptions were called for: money was available from war damage compensation and most Yega households subscribed from $10 to $20, each person contributing as much as he wished.

Clearing bush for the co-operative gardens was begun at four sites in mature rain forest at Ononda, Garara, Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari. Little information was available on the subsequent operations at Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari but some details were obtained for the Ononda and Garara projects.

Samuel placed an ex-serviceman comrade in charge at Ononda. A site was selected by Mixon Kairembora, the Yega 'land custodian', between Ononda and Epa Creeks.[1] Meanwhile some of the neighbouring Beuru and Ahora people obtained Samuel's consent to join the Yega in their co-operative efforts, paid him money and were permitted by him to assist with the clearing of bush at Ononda.[2]

Crops were planted at Ononda by co-operative effort for two years. The man in charge says that good crops of peanuts were grown and sold to the Administration, being taken by headload to the coast, thence by canoe to Cape Killerton. The money from the sale of these crops was paid to Samuel Ungega who banked it at Higaturu. Unfortunately, no records of the amounts obtained are now available.[3] Large quantities of sweet potatoes were also

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[1] For the history of this land see pages 30 and 48 and Fig.7 of the previous article.

[2] When asked whether the fact that the Ahora and Beuru had cleared bush at Ononda would strengthen their claims to the land the Yega replied in the negative. They stated that non-Yega were employed only in the capacity of workmen: they were paid in produce at the time and had no further rights.

[3] One of Samuel's brothers, who was a young boy at the time of Samuel's death in the Mt Lamington eruption, said he remembered numbers of Samuel's books being burned and thrown away in the bush when relatives went through his belongings.

Table 1

583 Bride-wealth paid for three women married into, and two marrying out of Andiriha sub-clan, Inonda

	In 1	In 2*	In 3	Out 1	Out 2**
Approximate date	1961	1958	1953	1960	1964-5
Cash	$74	$22	$40	$22	$74
Pigs	2	?	1	?	nil
Traditional valuables, utensils, etc.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?
Food	Approx. $12	Yes	Yes	Yes	?

* Woman with illegitimate child.
** Required of a man from Hadang District for a girl of Joremba'embo lineage.

[584] suitor (cf. Williams 1930:31, 141, 144, 149-50). The people of Inonda were aware of high prices paid for women near Port Moresby[1] and the bride's father, a man of high prestige in the area, may have been attempting to raise local prices towards the level of prices in urban areas.

The groom and his father complained about the price but accepted it as a challenge which must be answered by payment.

Between the time the price was set and the time it was paid, bride and groom spent much time together. For about three weeks the groom and a classificatory sister lived at the bride's father's farm where they helped with farm work. One weekend the bride, groom and bride's father went on a fishing expedition, indicating that the bride's father had consented to the marriage.

583 614 768 About a month before the bride-wealth was paid the groom's father died and the responsibility for organizing the payment passed to the head of the Darafa'embo lineage of the Andiriha sub-clan in Hohota II. This man will be referred to as 'the organizer'. Ideally the responsibility would have passed to a senior man of the Jegotumo lineage in Inonda, but the groom himself was the most senior. The responsibility could have devolved to the senior man of Jegotumo lineage in either Hohota I or Kakendetta, where Jegotumo was represented, but the only Jegotumo

[1] Bride-wealth exchanges in Hanuabada, Central District, at the time were mostly in the range $600-$1200 in cash plus an equivalent amount in traditional valuables (N.D. Oram, personal communication).

man in Hohota I was in his late twenties and had insufficient status in the Andiriha clan to organize the payment. There were two senior Jegotumo men in Kakendetta but the responsibility went to neither, probably because Kakendetta was 11 miles from Inonda and the groom's father's household had little contact with them. Inonda people said that the reason the position of 'organizer' passed to the head of the Darafa'embo lineage in Hohota was that about the turn of this century his father and the groom's paternal grandfather had fled together from Aramba to Hohota and that the common history of the two families placed the organizer in a special relationship with the groom (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14).

Several times during the two and a half months over which the bride-wealth was accumulated, the bride's father embarrassed the groom and his supporters by saying publicly that they were slow to meet the payment and that he thought they were incapable of doing so. About five days before the event the groom and his supporters arranged with the bride's father that the exchange should take place on Friday, 30 August at Hohota II.

On Thursday, part of the food contributed by Hohota people was stacked in a shade-house adjacent to the organizer's house. That evening four men from Hohota went to Inonda to assist the Inonda men to carry to Hohota a large and valuable pig which had belonged to the groom's father and was to be part of the bride-wealth.

At 6.00 a.m. on the day of the ceremony the groom's supporters began to gather at the organizer's residence at Hohota. All were assembled by 10.30 a.m. The food they brought was stacked near the shade-house and the traditional valuables on the verandah of the residence. Both bride and groom had spent the night at Hohota but they took only minor parts in the preparation of the bride-wealth.

At 6.30 a.m. a party of five women, including the bride's father's two wives (one of them the bride's mother) and the bride's mother's brother's wife, stood outside the organizer's house berating the groom's family for failing to have the bride-wealth completely ready. These women had come to collect a preliminary payment, kina, contributed by close relatives of the groom and distributed amongst close relatives of the bride to indicate to the bride's family that she is marrying into a family of wealth. Some cash, traditional valuables, household utensils, food and several pieces of bark-cloth were handed to the women, who stacked them into string bags and returned at 8.30 a.m. to the bride's father's house, two miles away.

At 7.30 a.m. other members of the Jegotumo lineage and people who had come to the ceremony smeared the groom, his stepmother, stepsister and other close relatives with a paste of mud, ashes

man and both are now aged residents of Inonda. Having no other source of land rights they became accepted as primary (but perhaps less privileged) members of their adoptive father's lineage and sub-clan and were given rights to some of his land. These are still held. One of them married an Inonda woman and his children have acquired some rights from their father and some from their mother. The other man married a woman from the neighbouring Urio village. He has no children and lives with his only adopted daughter's family. He is old and senile and cannot leave the house. When all the lands of the village had been covered by our survey, none had been mentioned as belonging to him. When the matter was queried it was explained that technically he had rights in the lands of his lineage of adoption, but that as an aged dependant without issue, these rights would lapse on his death. In practice they had already lapsed.

Two illegitimate children have been adopted by the father of their respective mothers (who were sisters). They will acquire land rights from him in the same way as if they were his own children. (His only born son is at present teaching in New Britain). In one case, however, the mother's present husband has also offered to make land available to the boy when he grows up. In the early stages at least he would acquire only permissive rights to this land.

In the event of the death of a local man who has young children, the children will need adoption in so far as foster care is concerned, but not necessarily in so far as land rights are concerned. A current example is that of the death of the only resident adult member of the Otwa'undi lineage. A man of Jegotumo lineage took in the deceased's wife and "adopted" his children, but it is understood that they will inherit their land rights from their father, though in the event of need they could get land from their adoptive father. The adoptive father at present acts as 'trustee' for their lands.

A marginal case is that of a young unmarried man of a distant tribe whose mother recently remarried to an Inonda widower who has no children. The young man lives and plants with the couple. His mother's new husband speaks of him as his adopted son and says that if he remains in the village he will

inherit rights to some of his adoptive father's land, but most of the land will pass to the adoptive father's brother's children. If the adoptee does not remain in the village he will acquire no rights. The other children of the new wife remained in their home village with their father's kin. They will acquire no rights in Inonda.

In fact the fathers of over half of the Inonda men seem to have died before the children reached maturity. Most men, therefore, have been in an adoptive relationship, though in varying degrees, and one man had three adoptive fathers in succession. If land is readily available adoptees most frequently inherit from their own fathers, but if this is not convenient, rights can be acquired from the adoptive father.

There is usually no ceremony to mark adoption but it is of interest to note that the status of adoptees (and others whose status within a descent group is vague or marginal) is to some extent fixed by the government census. This is no doubt unintentional on the part of the census-takers, but we have frequently heard people say that a certain person should get his rights from a particular man because the patrol officer recorded them together in the village book; or in a particular village because his name appears in the register of that village.

Rights in relation to categories of land

House-sites: The various house-sites in Inonda were allotted by informal discussion at the time the village was set up. At first the Andiriha built their houses on the northern side and the Jego'undi on the southern side of the village square but the Andiriha have subsequently expanded to the western and southern sides. The eastern side is occupied by the government rest house. Where two brothers live in separate households, their houses are adjacent, as are those of fathers and sons. House-sites of members of the same lineage are contiguous except in the case of a recently married man who had to build on another site within the village because the area occupied by his lineage was full.

There do not seem to be any specific boundaries between houses, and rights to any particular house-site are said to

The inheritance of property

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Traditional housing has a life of only about four years. It is simply constructed and does not call for any great expenditure of either effort or materials. If the household head dies, his wife and family may continue to occupy the house, though if there are adult sons they will usually dismantle their late father's house and rebuild nearby. If the wife remarries her new husband must provide her with housing.

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Replies to questions about the inheritance of tools and equipment were unanimous. Those who had one son (real or adopted) said these things would descend to him alone. Those with more than one son said they would go to the first-born who would divide them among all the sons, though he should make some provision for his sisters if they were living at home. Those with no children or with daughters only said that their chattels would go to the sons of their eldest brother. The one exception was a man with four daughters and no sons. Neither did his brothers have sons, although his late sister has surviving sons in a village about ten miles away. He says that if he does not have a son before he dies, he will leave his property to his eldest daughter to distribute among herself and her sisters.

The proposed inheritance of cash savings and traditional valuables followed the same pattern as that of tools and equipment, though informants state that the first-born son need not necessarily actually divide the estate, but will normally merely take care of it as trustee for his siblings. He is then obliged to meet their obligations in respect of bride-price and other exchanges from the common pool. This practice has in fact been followed in all instances checked with the villagers, though they do say that it is not contrary to custom to share the estate among the beneficiaries.

While it is said that a man's dogs are usually inherited by his eldest son, pigs and fowls appear generally to be consumed during the feasting associated with the death. One exception noted during our stay was a large pig which had been "earmarked" as part of a bride-price exchange. When the owner died this pig was in fact reserved for the bride-price, though his other pigs were killed for the funeral feast.

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

repayment was too small. It is also used in the sense of 'earnest' of a repayment that will be made in the future. If the insufficiency complained of is not made up, effectively a *tihanga* remains.

The term *pavonei* is used to indicate that the return payment is considered excessive. Far from being considered gratifying and proper, such a state of affairs is considered provocative and unfriendly. The principal meaning of *pavonei* is a stick planted in front of a coconut palm by a man who has taken some nuts and who thus acknowledges his debt. The setting up of a *pavonei* at a feast means thus to set up in the mind of the recipients of a repayment the consciousness that they are again indebted to their exchange partners. The act of setting up such a *pavonei* is often referred to as *kambari*, a verb that means principally 'to bite, to kill'. The effect of it is that the victims of the *pavonei* will themselves return an excessive repayment, and that the whole exchange will escalate to the distress of both parties. The outcome may either be war or, if relations between the parties become more amiable, one side may decide to call off the battle by restoring the balance.

A very different and entirely legitimate imbalance is what is called a *hande mine*. This is a gift such as should be made when returning a loaned object (implements, ceremonial paraphernalia etc.). It should also be added when repaying a gift made at a time of shortage when the donor himself was badly in need of the thing he gave away. A special case of this are the food gifts made to a bereaved family after a death (when the family may not garden, and when crops from the deceased's garden are no longer consumable by his family). The bereaved family must add a substantial *hande mine* to the repayment of such food gifts because of the presumption that the sudden unforeseeable demand made on the donor's food resources would create distress. The *hande mine*, if omitted, is said to create a *tihanga*.

In some respects the notions about *hande mine* resemble what Sahlins said about the Maori notion of *hau*. The magnitude of the *hande mine* expected with the return of a borrowed object is not related to the length of time it has been kept, but rather to the success the borrower had with it. If a hunter catches nothing after borrowing a gun, he owes nothing. If he has a large bag, he is expected to be generous to the lender.

The question that concerns us here is to distinguish the situations where *tihanga* is created from those where it is not created. This is no easy matter especially because *tihanga* in close associations is extraordinarily hard to establish clearly. I have shown that Orokaiva householders do sometimes count as gifts meals of cooked vegetable presented to certain categories of kin; in comparison to western society far more things are counted in the balance. The crucial distinction seems to be that some debts are reclaimed while others are not. Debts incurred by a child may be claimed by the parents when the child is adult, but in fact the child may start quite early in making some prestations, viz. when he has a small garden of his own. There is nothing extraordinary in the pattern of household co-operation, but many things that in western society would be classified as co-operation are classified by Orokaiva after the model of *hande ari* and *tihanga*.

It is therefore futile to seek to demonstrate an exchange ideology merely

26: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974
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do look like a girl's breasts; they are very dangerous if one falls upon them with any force. His sister was clearly an *embavo*, a coconut spirit. In this way the deaths are, to Orokaiva thought, adequately accounted for.

The hero explains two types of ritual uses of coconut and areca, namely, those related to mortuary feasts and those where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The instruction that nobody should eat the nuts lying under the trees, on pain of death, constitutes a mythological charter for the taboo placed upon the coco palms and areca palms owned by a person recently dead. An informant explained a further implication to me, which is not very clear from the version I quoted, namely, that it is customary to place coconuts and areca nuts upon the grave of a dead affine. Thus it was the duty of the hero to place coconuts and areca nuts upon the grave of his brother-in-law; and the duty of his wife, to do the same for the grave of her sister-in-law. In order to clarify these points, the myth tells of the wife's desire to eat the nuts and the hero's refusal to let her have them.

In a somewhat elliptic manner, the hero lists or implies three sets of rules concerning gifts of coconut and areca, where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The sets are:

Areca	*Coconut*
1a. The man fetches the nuts from the tree.	1b. The woman *helps to fetch* the nuts from the tree.
2a. The man gives the nuts to the woman.	2b. The woman cooks the nuts for the man.
3a. The girl offers nuts to her lover and carries an offering of nuts at initiation.	3b. At a girl's initiation, a man prepares coconut oil, which is used as a ritual cosmetic.

The first opposition is made quite explicit in the hero's speech, but is not free from casuistry. Men usually fetch not only areca but also coconuts from the high palms on which they